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The Centennial Celebration and International Exhibition of 1876—Their Advantages, Duties, and Honors.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH R. *Rowell* HAWLEY,
OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

MAY 7, 1874.



WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1874.

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TMP96-024572

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH R. HAWLEY,

The House being in Committee of the Whole, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. No. 2986) to appropriate \$3,000,000 in aid of the centennial celebration and international exhibition of 1876—

Mr. HAWLEY, of Connecticut, in closing the debate, said :

Mr. SPEAKER: I have no speech to make, as the expression is popularly understood. But I think I never in my life was so anxious and ready to talk as I am now. I never was so desirous to be heard; and that not for my sake at all, for no man could possibly so feel his insignificance, in the presence of what he considers a great national question, as I do at this moment. Circumstances above and beyond my control, and not of my making, have put me where I am. It is a habit of my life to follow my flag and do my duty; I wish I could do it better. But when I have done as well as I can, I shall in my conscience be acquitted, whatever becomes of the cause that may unfortunately have been committed to me.

THE CREATION OF THE COMMISSION.

I find myself a member of a national commission, created by an act of Congress, an act duly approved by the President and published in your laws. The governor of my Commonwealth sent for me and asked me if I would accept a place upon this commission. I had not even read the act. I did not know of its passage. I considered the matter for a short time and consented to serve. I received my commission from the President of the United States and began to study my duties. There are ninety-three citizens of the United States in precisely my condition. And here is the act we are told to execute. I do not know what was said in the debate that preceded its passage. I have never read one word of that debate. I never took the trouble to take the Globe containing it from my shelf or to go to the Library to read it. So far as my duty is concerned, I do not care about it. Here are my orders, your orders, the orders of my country :

An act to provide for celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of American independence, by holding an international exhibition of arts, manufactures, and products of the soil and mine, in the city of Philadelphia, and State of Pennsylvania, in the year 1876.

The preamble recites :

Whereas the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America was prepared, signed, and promulgated in the year 1776, in the city of Philadelphia; and whereas it behooves the people of the United States to celebrate, by appropriate ceremonies, the centennial anniversary of this memorable and decisive event, which constituted the 4th day of July, A. D. 1776, the birthday of the nation; and whereas it is deemed fitting that the completion of the first century of our national existence shall be commemorated by an exhibition of the natural resources of the country and their development, and of its progress in those arts which benefit mankind, in

comparison with those of older nations; and whereas no place is so appropriate for such an exhibition as the city in which occurred the event it is designed to commemorate; and whereas as the exhibition should be a national celebration—

Not a Pennsylvania and Philadelphia celebration, but “a national celebration,” as well as an international exhibition—

in which the people of the whole country should participate, it should have the sanction of the Congress of the United States: Therefore,

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That an exhibition—*

Of what? That a “celebration” merely shall be held on the 3d, 4th, and 5th of July of that week? Not that alone, but that—
an exhibition of American and foreign arts, products, and manufactures shall be held—

Not by us ninety-four private citizens, not by Daniel J. Morrell, or any other citizen of Pennsylvania alone; not by the corporation of the city of Philadelphia, but—

under the auspices of the Government of the United States, in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1876.

SEC. 2. That a commission, to consist of not more than one delegate from each State and from each Territory of the United States, whose functions shall continue until the close of the exhibition, shall be constituted, whose duty it shall be to prepare and superintend the execution of a plan for holding the exhibition—

The “international” exhibition described in the preamble—

and, after conference with the authorities of the city of Philadelphia, to fix upon a suitable site within the corporate limits of the said city, where the exhibition shall be held.

These commissioners, with an alternate from each State, are to be nominated by the governors of the States and Territories, and appointed and commissioned by the President. We were told that the commission must—

Report to Congress, at the first session after appointment, a suitable date for opening and for closing the exhibition; a schedule of appropriate ceremonies for opening or dedicating the same; a plan or plans of the building; a complete plan for the reception and classification of articles intended for exhibition; the requisite custom-house regulations for the introduction into this country of articles from foreign countries intended for exhibition; and such other matters as in their judgment may be important.

And by subsequent legislation we were commanded to report from time to time, and to make our regular reports to the President, and “in a final report present a full exhibit of the result of the centennial celebration and exhibition of 1876.” You authorized us, you created us, you ordered us to be commissioned by the President. You commanded us to report. You commanded us to devise plans for holding not a national celebration alone, but an international exhibition. We have obeyed you. We have made our plans. We have our plans for the reception and classification of articles. We have our plans for the admission of goods. We have our plans for building. We have our ground selected. We have everything ready but one thing. And we have reported to you from time to time. And now we come again to report, as you have commanded us to report.

I do not come here, sir, to pretend that we have ever obtained any snap judgment upon the Government or upon the nation. I do not come here to pretend that you are bound by any law from which you cannot escape. I have come to tell you where we, your officers, commissioned by your order, find ourselves to-day; and I come, gentlemen, my friends, to ask you to tell us what we must do.

As I see it, as we see it, the national honor is involved. As we see it, the national profit and advantage are involved in it; not alone “sentiment,” in which I believe from the bottom of my soul—for every

"sentiment" I hold I am ready to offer my life at any time and place—not sentiment alone, but honor and profit, all that it becomes a nation or that it becomes you to consider.

I come here in behalf of that commission to lay before my fellow-citizens and fellow-Representatives our situation, and to ask you whether this nation can possibly escape from the position in which you have placed it. And my great anxiety is that we shall be acquitted of any censure in carrying out your orders.

Well, we did organize this commission. Finding afterward that an auxiliary association would be valuable for the collection, holding, and disbursement of the funds, and that the work was too cumbersome for us alone, and might properly be divided with another corporation, an act was submitted and passed here chartering the centennial board of finance.

I do not know who drafted it, but upon the whole it was wisely drafted, and I believe was approved by our commission. It follows, in its general tenor and purpose, all that was provided in the previous acts. We were perfectly well aware that in the original act was this clause :

The United States shall not be liable for any expenses attending such exhibition, or by reason of the same.

We were perfectly well aware that we could incur no debt or obligation for which the Treasury of the United States could be made liable, and we never have tried to do it. But we have come here now to report to you the situation in which we find ourselves. The second act, upon which one gentleman dwelt, does not, as he claimed, provide that "under no circumstances shall Congress ever be called upon to appropriate to the enterprise." Not at all. He said that precisely as if he were reading from the act. There was nothing in the original act but a declaration that the United States should not be liable for any of the expenses attending the exhibition, and the subsequent act was substantially in the same words. That was a perfectly proper provision, and we have honestly lived up to it. We have had no disguise of any sort or kind.

PROCLAMATION AND CIRCULARS OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Now, what more has been done? In one way and another the sum of \$4,500,000 has been raised, of which I will speak in due time. The President has issued a proclamation upon this subject, with which I suppose you are familiar. That proclamation was dated July 3, 1873, and in it, after citing the authority for so doing, he proceeds to say:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Ulysses S. Grant, President of the United States, in conformity with the provisions of the act of Congress aforesaid, do hereby declare and proclaim, that there will be held in the city of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, an international exhibition of arts, manufactures, and products of the soil and mine, to be opened on the 19th day of April, 1876, and to be closed on the 19th of October, in the same year; and in the interest of peace, civilization, and domestic and international friendship and intercourse, I commend the celebration and exhibition to the people of the United States; and in behalf of this Government and people I cordially commend them to all nations who may be pleased to take part therein.

And then, in simple execution of his duty under the act, the President proceeded to communicate to the diplomatic representatives of all nations copies of this proclamation, together with the regulations adopted by the commissioners, for publication in their respective countries. The Secretary of State prepared a circular note to be given to every foreign representative at or near this seat of government. In it he said:

I have the honor to inclose, for the information of the government of ———, a

copy of the President's proclamation, announcing the time and place of holding an international exhibition of arts, manufactures, and products of the soil and mine, proposed to be held in the year 1876.

The exhibition is designed to commemorate the declaration of the independence of the United States, on the one hundredth anniversary of that interesting and historic national event, and at the same time to present a fitting opportunity for such display of the results of art and industry of all nations as will serve to illustrate the great advances attained and the successes achieved in the interest of progress and civilization during the century which will have then closed.

How could you use language more decisive than those words of our President and Secretary of State? Listen to this also, from Mr. Fish's circular, I beg you:

The President indulges the hope that the government of ——— will be pleased to notice the subject, and may deem it proper to bring the exhibition and its objects to the attention of the people of that country, and thus encourage their co-operation in the proposed celebration. And he further hopes that the opportunity afforded by the exhibition for the interchange of national sentiment and friendly intercourse between the people of both nations may result in new and still greater advantages to science and industry, and at the same time serve to strengthen the bonds of peace and friendship which already happily subsist between the government and people of ——— and those of the United States.

Will you tell me in what words you could clothe any warmer or more cordial commendation and invitation to foreign governments to take part in this exhibition? But that is not all. The Secretary of State wrote another letter, which I had not seen until within a day or two. In a circular, dated July 7, 1873, sent to all our representatives abroad, is this paragraph:

It is desired that you will avail yourself of such opportunities as your official relations with the government of ——— will afford, to make known to the proper authorities, and through them to the people of that country, the scope and object of the exhibition, and thereby aid in securing their interest and co-operation in it. You will also ascertain, as early as may be practicable, whether or not it is the purpose of the government to create a commission to represent it at the exhibition, to have in special charge the interests of the citizens of that country which may take part in the proposed celebration.

Ascertain whether they will appoint the usual commission or committee to take charge of the interests of their people. These are the instructions to our foreign ministers, to have all this information made known to foreign governments and as far as possible to the people also.

And when the Secretary of State transmitted to all the representatives of other nations here the proclamation of the President and the other documents in this case, he added also a copy of our general regulations, drawn up by the centennial commission, giving a general idea of the management and scope of the exhibition; a general preliminary statement of ten regulations. This was asked for from us, and submitted by us to the Secretary of State. We did not send it to foreign governments. We had no right to communicate with a single government—no right under the law. We have obeyed your orders. It has been done through your President and through the Secretary of State and your ministers abroad. The third, fourth, and fifth regulations are as follows:

Third. A cordial invitation is hereby extended to every nation of the earth to be represented by its arts, industries, progress, and development.

Fourth. A formal acceptance of this invitation is requested previous to March 4, 1874.

Fifth. Each nation accepting this invitation is requested to appoint a commission, through which all matters pertaining to its own interest shall be conducted. For the purpose of convenient intercourse and satisfactory supervision, it is especially desired that one member of each such commission be designated to reside at Philadelphia until the close of the exposition.

Sixth. The privileges of exhibitors can be granted *only to citizens of countries*

whose governments have previously formally accepted the invitation to be represented, and have appointed the aforementioned commission, and all communications must be made through the governmental commissions.

The whole of the ten regulations provide the general regulations under which foreign exhibitors can come here. That was transmitted to every foreign government, not by us, but by your President and by your Secretary. You cannot tell us that we have departed from your original act, or "injected" anything, as the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GARFIELD] says. I was sorry to hear him use that expression, for I receive it as a reflection upon the ninety-three or ninety-four men of this commission. We have put nothing in the bill. I know that gentleman's heart, and I know it is not with his words. I know he borrowed his idea, and I was sorry to hear him repeat it. We have not changed a letter of that law; we have put nothing into the spirit of it that is not in the letter of it.

INVITATIONS ACCEPTED.

Your President and your Secretary of State have gone so far. How was their invitation received by other nations? You have heard, and I will not dwell upon it. I take it that Bismarck and the German Empire understood what an invitation meant. They had these documents before them.

Germany sends us the following acceptance :

I request you respectfully to communicate to the Secretary of State, Mr. Fish, that the German Empire accepts with sincerest thanks the invitation of the Government of the United States of America to take part in the above-mentioned exhibition. The appointment of a special commission for the exhibition, as also a plenipotentiary residing in Philadelphia will therefore be made in time.

The Netherlands minister sends the following acceptance :

I have the honor to inform your excellency that the government of the Netherlands has received this international invitation with lively satisfaction, and intends to take part in the said exposition by contributing productions of the arts and industry of the Netherlands.

To this effect a commission will be appointed in the Netherlands, and also a committee to direct and furnish information to exhibitors.

As soon as it shall be in my power, I shall hasten to communicate to your excellency the names and quality of the persons who are to constitute this committee.

From Spain we have the following :

LEGATION OF SPAIN AT WASHINGTON,
Washington, April 24, 1874.

The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of Spain, has the honor to address the honorable Secretary of State of the United States, inclosing to him a copy of a dispatch, which he has received from the secretary-general of the ministry of state at Madrid, signifying Spain's acceptance of the invitation to take part in the international exhibition which is to be held at Philadelphia in the year 1876, by way of celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the independence of the United States. The undersigned is very happy to inclose this dispatch to the honorable Secretary of State, since it confirms the telegrams announcing the acceptance of Spain which was received some time since by the undersigned, and which he only communicated verbally to the honorable Secretary of State, having waited until the arrival of the dispatch which he now has the honor to inclose before doing so in writing.

The undersigned will thank the honorable Secretary of State for all the information which it may be possible to give in relation to the aforesaid exhibition that he may transmit to his government, and he gladly avails himself of this occasion to reiterate to the honorable Secretary of State the assurances of his most distinguished consideration.

JOSÉ POLO DE BERNABE.

The honorable SECRETARY OF STATE of the *United States, &c.*

From the Argentine Republic comes the following :

I have the honor to inform your excellency that the Argentine government ac-

cepts the invitation which that of the United States has been pleased to extend to it through your excellency, to take part in the exhibition which is to be held at Philadelphia, and that a commission has been appointed for this purpose, composed of the gentlemen whose names are mentioned in the decree of which a copy is inclosed.

The Argentine government returns its sincere thanks to the Republic of the North for this attention.

Mr. Andrews, our minister to Sweden, writes under date of "Stockholm, March 21, 1874:"

The official journal of last evening announced the appointment, by the King, of the following committee with power to organize and supervise all that concerns Sweden's taking part in the Philadelphia exhibition, namely:

The chief of the civil department, (Mr. P. A. Bergstiern,) as chairman;

Carl O. Troilins, director-general of the public railways;

F. L. von Dardel, president of the Academy of Fine Arts; also president of the Mechanic Arts Association;

Colonel C. G. Beyer;

Dr. Charles Dickson, M. D., of Gothenburg;

Baron A. H. E. Fock;

F. W. Scholander;

C. F. Lindstiern, manufacturer;

N. A. Elfving, United States consul;

Professor S. Stenberg;

A. R. Akerman, instructor in Technological Institute;

J. Bolinder, manufacturer;

J. Lenning, manufacturer;

D. C. Lundstrom, manufacturer; and

C. Juhlin Dannfelt, superintendent of the public experimental farm; also late commissioner for Sweden at the Vienna exposition, as secretary.

Five of the committee, namely Messrs. Bergstiern, Troilins, Dickson, Fock, and Lenning, are members of the Diet.

The committee are instructed to select for the exhibition those branches of industry that are natural to and characteristic of Sweden, and that are specially adapted to promote her commercial interests; also to accept only such objects of each class as are of distinguished merit. It is announced at the same time that so much of the fifty thousand Swedish dollars voted by the Diet will be applied to enable the committee to carry on their work as is requisite, and that free transportation on all of the public railways will be granted for the committee and for the articles to be exhibited.

It may be assumed that in the department of statistics Sweden will make a fine showing. I have reason to believe that this country is going to work to gain as much honor as possible at the exhibition. Undoubtedly able men from every state in Europe will visit our country during the exhibition and make searching investigations of social affairs, especially in the South, and report the results. In the proposed centennial exhibition the United States have made a sort of challenge to the civilization of the world, and it seems to me the people of each of the States have no time to lose in preparing for the trial.

I do not care to read all of these. Fourteen or fifteen different governments have accepted in perfect innocence and sincerity the invitation which has been given them, and have sent word, not to us as a commission, mind you—keep clear of that idea—have sent word to your Secretary of State that they accept, not our invitation but your invitation, and that they intend to be here. Here is a list of those who have accepted: the German Empire, the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Mexico, Ecuador, the Argentine Republic, Brazil,* Chili, Liberia, Hayti, and the Sandwich Islands.

The governments the citizens or subjects of which have manifested a special interest and desire to participate are Austria,† France, Eng-

*The Emperor of Brazil has appointed his own son-in-law one of the commissioners, and has made remarks from which we may infer that he thinks of visiting the exhibition himself.

†It is not improper to note here the fact that Baron Schwarz-Senborn, who presided so ably over the Vienna Exhibition has been appointed by his sovereign the Emperor, minister to the United States. We know by his many cordial declarations and his valuable suggestions how warm an interest he takes in the exhibition of 1876.

land, Scotland, Wales, Italy, Persia, Turkey, Russia, Egypt, Japan, New Zealand, Tunis, Canada, Australia, China,* and Siam.

Now have done with this talk of "entrapping," with this charge upon us that we have perverted this act of incorporation. As a man of honor I will not submit in silence to it. Your Secretary of State, your President, your acts of Congress have done this. Foreign governments do not know me; they do not know my friend, Governor McCORMICK; they do not know Governor Straw; they do not know Mr. Corliss, nor any one of the ninety-four commissioners. They know Ulysses S. Grant, President, and Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, and the Congress of the United States. They read their proclamation and their circulars and this law; they send word here to you that they accept your invitation. And your Secretary of State hands over these acceptances to us, with your command to go on with the exhibition. That is where we are. Now, again I say, have done with all this talk of "entrapping;" let no man charge that we have done anything beyond your orders.

SECRETARY FISH'S CAUTIONARY LETTER.

A MEMBER. How about the second letter of the Secretary of State? Mr. HAWLEY, of Connecticut. Ah! the second letter of the Secretary of State. To that is due one-half, nay nine-tenths of the whole trouble. It is a letter which I hold he had no right to issue without full instructions and upon fuller consultation than I believe he ever had. I know too well what embarrassments that letter caused. While we were receiving communications from abroad, generous offers of hearty sympathy from all over the world, the Secretary of State privately, that is unknown to us of the commission, sends out this circular. We did not know of it till months afterward, when we obtained it upon a special and formal request to be informed how he construed the law. For answer to that inquiry he sent to us this circular, months after it had been sent out. I do not wish to complain. I do not wish to censure a man who I believe has done his country the greatest possible service. But I hold that he was unnecessarily conservative in his construction, and that he should have dealt a little more frankly with us. And even in a greater portion of this letter he commends the exhibition to the co-operation of all the world, and says that the President desired him to do so in the heartiest way. I shall refer in a moment to the language of this circular of Mr. Fish. I did not quite hear what the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. DAWES] said; but as I partially heard him, I understood him to say that there was some document from the Secretary of State which did not appear in our annual report, as if we had concealed something. I may do the gentleman from Massachusetts injustice; but that is the way I understood him. Sir, this document is a matter belonging to the archives of the Secretary of State, a document which we obtained from him upon our special entreaty. It is not any part of our doings that we were called upon to report. Here is the language of Mr. Fish; and it is to be noticed that this is not a letter to foreign powers; it is a private circular to our ministers:

It will be observed that the President in his proclamation has extended no invitation to foreign powers to participate in the exhibition. He was not authorized so to do, and while he desires to attract as much attention and interest as possible thereto, he carefully confines himself to "commending" the celebration of the centennial anniversary of American independence, and the exhibition which is to be held in connection therewith, to all nations who may be pleased to take part therein. It is presumed that you will not have failed to observe the guarded lan-

*The Chinese prince in charge of foreign affairs has made arrangements for a commission to represent China, and has caused full notices of the exhibition to be spread through the empire.

guage of the President's proclamation, and the difference between it and that which would be used in extending an invitation to other powers.

Has the Secretary of State sent this circular to Bismarck? Has he sent it to the Netherlands? Has he sent it to Spain? Has he sent it to the Argentine Confederation? Has he sent it to Sweden? To whom has he communicated it? Has he said to Bismarck after the latter has signified his acceptance, "Ah! Herr Bismarck, you have not correctly read the document; the Yankee did not invite you." "Ah! did he not? Why, your President said he commended the enterprise cordially to all nations, hoped they and their people would take part therein; and the Secretary of State said the same thing in his circular; and they sent to us the general regulations, cordially inviting us, providing for the appointment of foreign commissioners according to law; they sent us a copy of the law and said they hoped foreign governments, foreign commissioners, foreign manufacturers and artisans would be represented there, and they begged to have the enterprise commended to everybody. And then your distinguished citizen, Mr. Bancroft, called on me and said that he wanted me to come; and I said, yes."

But we are to retain an attorney from Maine who has discovered that the word "invitation" is not in the statute. Perhaps it is not; but the law says that—

The President shall through the Department of State make proclamation of the same, setting forth the time at which the exhibition will open, and the place at which it will be held, and he shall communicate to the diplomatic representatives of all nations copies of the same, together with such regulations as may be adopted by the commissioners for publication in their respective countries.

And in that proclamation was the most cordial "commendation," and in the regulations was the most cordial "invitation."

And it is to be an "international exhibition." But there is no invitation; no, no! And Bismarck is to be solemnly informed that the word "invitation" is not distinctly there though he reads that the President has cordially commended the enterprise to all nations, and that the Secretary of State has said that it will be a fine opportunity to display the industry of all nations, and the President indulges the hope that every Government will notice the subject and bring it to the attention of the people and encourage their co-operation, and that the result will be an increase of friendly intercourse.

Mr. TREMAIN. Does not the original statute also say that the President shall send to foreign governments a copy of the regulations?

Mr. HAWLEY, of Connecticut. O, yes.

Mr. TREMAIN. And does not the Secretary of State in his communication say that he therewith sends the regulations according to the statute?

Mr. HAWLEY, of Connecticut. Yes, sir; the law provides that he must send the presidential proclamation and that he must send also the regulations. We in all innocence drew these regulations and submitted them to the Secretary of State. We did not send them ourselves. What is the form of those regulations?

GENERAL REGULATIONS.

First. The international exhibition of 1876 will be held in Fairmount Park, in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1876.

Second. The date of opening of the exhibition will be April 19, 1876, and of closing will be October 19, 1876.

Third. A cordial invitation is hereby extended to every nation of the earth to be represented by its arts, industries, progress, and development.

Fourth. A formal acceptance of this invitation is requested previous to March 4, 1874.

Fifth. Each nation accepting this invitation is requested to appoint a commission, through which all matters pertaining to its own interests shall be conducted. For the purpose of convenient intercourse and satisfactory supervision, it is especially desired that one member of each such commission be designated to reside at Philadelphia until the close of the exposition, &c.

Now, sir, look at the attitude of your Government. Is it becoming, under the circumstances, that your attorney should plead in abatement that the word "invitation" is not in your laws? What would any honorable gentleman the world over think should he come to your door on a supposed invitation to dinner and be there told, "Look at your card; the word 'invitation' is not there; you were 'commended' to a good dinner to be held on a certain evening, but the word 'invitation' is not there." I congratulate the Secretary of State who will have this correspondence to close if you forbid this exhibition to go on. I would take a sardonic pleasure in looking over his shoulder to see how he will excuse the Yankee Congress for ignominiously backing out.

I want the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means to go to him and tell him how to do it—the man who says we are twenty-nine millions behind in our obligations, and that too while a Massachusetts man has been chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means for years, and while a Massachusetts man has been Secretary of the Treasury for years—that we are twenty-nine millions behind; and yet he has not dared to come here to a powerful and generous people, who will not be dishonest—he has not dared to come to them and bring in a tax bill to redeem what he says is the solemn obligation of the Government.

THE BUGBEAR OF TAXATION.

Mr. Chairman, I am weary—I am sick of this talk about a bankrupt nation, a bankrupt Government. Will somebody bring in a tax bill here and let us vote for it? If we owe \$29,000,000 which we promised to pay, I dare vote for any bill which is needed to redeem the honor of my Government. Put it on what you may deem best, but do not stand here pointing—as he who represents the financial resources of this Government does—to what he says is a dishonorable deficit; and yet—December, January, February, March, April, May—in the sixth month of the session, and he has not yet dared to offer a tax bill! I say, sir, he is false to his duties. Is the nation dishonored; has it become bankrupt? No, sir; whenever you owe, whenever you have an obligation, whenever you have an honorable debt to discharge, present your bill, go and face your constituents, and tell them that the honor and majesty of this Government demand of you additional taxation; and, unless you have had worse experience than I ever discovered in traveling over this country, they will commend you for it. The question will not be so much what your taxes are, as whether you have expended your money for honorable and necessary purposes. That will be the question they will ask you. What is the sum here; what is the bugbear of which they talk? Three millions, to be paid before the last day of June, as the chancellor of the exchequer would have you believe. To be paid in these seven weeks? No, sir; but one-half next year and one-half the year after. You have two years in which to pay it, less than one-half of 1 per cent. a year of your gross revenues; a million and a half next year out of over three hundred millions of revenue, and a million and a half the year after.

He talks about the apparent deficit during this current year. Two months of the fiscal year remain, and they will show a balance for the year in favor of the Government—not what it ought to be, it is

true, but every man here knows, every man in the country knows, that exceptional circumstances have for the time checked our revenues. Does not every man know that the revenues are reviving? Whatever he may claim to be the distress of the country now, does not our chancellor of the exchequer and every member of the Committee on Ways and Means know that the existing taxation in any ordinary condition of prosperity will enable us to more than meet our obligations for the next year, if we reduce expenditures, as we ought to do, and have been doing—cutting down all unnecessary expenditures and rooting out dishonest ones? I say I believe that existing taxation will provide for every possible obligation of the Government next year. But if there be any doubt on the subject whatever I call upon that son of old Massachusetts, a State which has always professed to be and always has been brave enough to do its duty, to tax the people.

ESTIMATES FOR THE EXHIBITION.

Here are our estimates. We have gone on according to the best of our ability; we have been industrious; we have been honest. We have invited the best architects to prepare plans of buildings and grounds. We have invited the most capable builders to give us their proposals for buildings. We have got all this. We are ready, if the funds can be guaranteed, or given, to begin, in thirty days or perhaps ten days, to put up these buildings. They ought to be commenced soon. How much money have we got? Four and a half million dollars in round numbers; but I have an accurate statement by the officers of the commission and the board of finance, which I will publish in detail.

The following is the duly authorized financial summary of the officers, architects, and engineer of the international exhibition, presented to the Senate committee, and published with its consent:

Capital actually secured.

Subscription up to date of former statement, March 16, 1874.....	\$1, 574, 440
Subscribed by citizens of Philadelphia since that date and up to April 3.....	50, 000
Additional subscription since guaranteed by responsible citizens of Philadelphia.....	250, 000
State of Pennsylvania and city of Philadelphia for the art building...	500, 000
Appropriation by ordinance of Philadelphia, April 2, 1874.....	1, 000, 000
State of New Jersey.....	100, 000
	3, 574, 440
Proposed contribution by Congress.....	3, 000, 000
	6, 574, 440

Estimated resources.

Additional subscriptions on a programme for Pennsylvania, exclusive of Philadelphia, \$40,000 of which was subscribed before the beginning of the panic and not included in the above statement.....	150, 000
Additional subscriptions in city of Philadelphia.....	150, 000
Subscriptions from New York, New England, the West, and other sections.....	500, 000
Estimated receipts from the exhibition.....	2, 500, 000
Sale of materials.....	500, 000
Total receipts.....	10, 334, 440
Total expenditures.....	8, 750, 000
	1, 574, 440

The above balance may be treated as guaranteeing creditable success.

Summary of expenditures.

Main pavilion.....	3, 363, 000
Machinery hall.....	895, 000

Agricultural hall.....	\$512,000
Horticultural department.....	200,000
Building for the fine arts, painting, statuary, &c.....	500,000
Water, gas, grading, fencing, and railroad facilities.....	1,030,000
General administration.....	500,000
Add 25 per cent. for errors in estimates and general contingencies.....	1,750,000
Total.....	8,750,000

The building for the fine arts, above named, is to be erected by the State of Pennsylvania and the city of Philadelphia, and for that purpose \$1,500,000 has been appropriated. It is to be under the exclusive control of the United States commission, and is to remain as a museum for the State. It is placed in the estimate at the cost of \$500,000, because it will save the commission that amount of expenditure. The remaining million will add to the imposing character of the exhibition buildings.

A. T. GOSHORN,

Director General Centennial Commission.

JOHN WELSH,

President of the Centennial Board of Finance.

VAUX & RADFORD,

Architects.

HENRY PETTIT,

Consulting Engineer United States Centennial Commission.

WASHINGTON, April 4, 1874.

The estimated subscriptions from New York, New England, and the West, and other sections, if this prospers, as it will when Congress says go on, will beyond all question reach \$500,000. Estimated receipts from the exhibition, \$2,500,000. That is the lowest figure anybody has given who has studied all the exhibitions. But put it lower if you wish. Sale of materials \$500,000. We know what the remains will be worth very nearly, because the contractors are able to, and some of them do, make two bids, one conditioned on their having the remains of the materials; the other conditioned on their being left to be sold by the commission. So we can easily estimate what the remains will be worth when the exhibition closes. This makes a total of \$10,324,000. The total expenditures are estimated at \$8,750,000; so that there is an estimated surplus of \$1,574,000.

But mind you, while they have made this estimate—these able and experienced business men, and many of them leaders in some of the greatest enterprises in the country—while they have deliberately made and certified to this estimate, based as far as possible on the plans and proposals of architects and builders, they have put these expenditures very high. The main pavilion, \$3,363,000. Now, we have wasted no money upon grand domes, merely ornamental structures or superadded decoration. We have followed the advice of our best friends abroad, and we propose to build plain, useful, and capacious buildings.

General administration—what may be called working capital, which the managers of great enterprises will perfectly well understand—what is necessary to pay the expenses up to the close of the exhibition, for we must estimate them up to that period, \$500,000. Add 25 per cent. for errors in estimates and general contingencies, \$1,750,000; which makes up our total expenditures \$8,750,000. I hardly think it will be necessary to go up to that. But the estimate is made abundantly safe, through caution, as wise men know that some mistakes will surely be made in such a matter.

Some gentlemen say that we will be here again asking for more money. I ask you to judge whether our experience here has been so pleasant that we should like the practice of coming here. But consider this: This bill provides for an appropriation of \$3,000,000 by this Gov-

ernment, of which forty dollars are to be paid out as we shall have expended one hundred, and upon the certificate of a capable engineer officer named by the President, who shall watch our progress from day to day, and certify at the end of each month what we have expended, and then repay us four-tenths of that amount. We cannot get the \$3,000,000, under this bill, until we shall have expended \$4,500,000. This will make an aggregate expenditure of \$7,500,000.

Now, in justice to Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, I ought to make one explanation. The State gives \$1,000,000 for a certain building, and the city \$500,000; making together a million and a half. That building is to remain there, a permanent historic gallery and museum, a memorial of the occasion. But we put that down in our estimates as only half a million; because that million and a half put into a permanent building furnishes only the room we could get for \$500,000, spent in our own way, in temporary buildings. Therefore the actual value to us is only half a million, and we so put it down.

UNJUST CENSURE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Now, why are we here to-day and why do we not raise money by popular subscription? It has been said that some gentlemen when this bill was before Congress expressed their entire confidence that Pennsylvania and Philadelphia would raise the money, that they would see the enterprise through, as it was supposed they were to have local benefit from it, and as they seemed to be the first to present it here. Now are you to drive a hard bargain with a people of a State who thought they could raise all that was needed, but have now found that they have not been able to do it? Are you going to an exhibition, or are you to ask the world to go to an international exhibition, paid for wholly by Pennsylvania and Philadelphia? Would you not be ashamed to go there from Faneuil Hall and Concord and bring your wares; to show the revolutionary swords and muskets and paintings and all the relics of that era, to put them in that exhibition at Fairmount Park, when you had made Pennsylvania and Philadelphia pay for it all, because Daniel J. Morrell and a few other enthusiastic men thought Pennsylvania *could* do it alone? Has Pennsylvania done anything to deserve this treatment? I say there has never been in my knowledge of human nature a finer exhibition of unselfish patriotism than there has been on the part of these men. They have said, "Let us stand back and out of sight—you carry on the work, putting us where you please, in the front or in the rear; tell us merely what to give and what to do." They have not sought to control it in any way. Not one Pennsylvanian is among the officers of the commission. The president of the commission is from Connecticut. The vice-presidents are from Ohio, New Jersey, Alabama, California, and Iowa. The secretary is from Indiana. And the whole control in the vacations of the commission, that is during most of the year, is in the hands of an executive committee of thirteen, only one of whom is a Pennsylvanian.

The directors of the board of finance, which corporation may be called the treasurer, the auditing body, under whose charge the building will be constructed, subject to the approval of the commission, has among its twenty-five directors a majority of Pennsylvanians, because four-fifths of the money was from Pennsylvania. We constituted this board of finance that they might hold the funds in trust and supervise the work. They are as honest and able men as Philadelphia can furnish, and as honorable and pure-minded men as this country can furnish, and every dollar we have spent is there to be

seen accounted for. Philadelphia gave \$75,000 for preliminary expenses, as there was no fund out of which to pay them, Congress having launched us in a national work with the President's commissions in our pockets and not a cent to pay even for railroad tickets. Philadelphia paid all these preliminary expenses, and her citizens and those of the State have subscribed four-fifths of the money thus far subscribed. What mistake did Pennsylvania make? Did she underestimate her own patriotism? No, sir; but she overestimated yours and mine. There is her mistake. How much more she would do if driven to it by pride, I do not know. You may drive this bargain with Pennsylvania, and say that she shall pay the expense of this celebration herself, because of the unauthorized and unofficial but patriotic and enthusiastic declarations of one or two of her representatives. Drive your bargain with Pennsylvania. Exact the pound of flesh and brag of it. She said she would pay all the expenses; let her do it, or let the whole thing go to the dogs and break down entirely. Recall your international invitations because Pennsylvania has failed to do that which you would be ashamed to let her do.

Sir, to argue here that Pennsylvania promised to pay the whole, and if she does not you will disgrace your country, is to make a plea in abatement worthy of some country cross-roads horse case. It is dodging the merits of the question.

WHY POPULAR SUBSCRIPTION FAILED.

A word or two more as to why we did not succeed in raising all the money. We had made every arrangement, and had the machinery ready for operation last summer for a general and systematic appeal to the whole country in the autumn. I had in my own State made arrangements for meetings in all the principal cities. I had talked with many of our manufacturers. Three or four of us were to go roundcalling meetings of manufacturers, of public-spirited gentlemen who had taken part in exhibitions abroad and knew all about them, to organize in their respective localities and to form a State organization, and procure subscriptions. We had made similar arrangements for other States. The system was just starting into full operation when the financial disaster came down upon us like a cloud, and shortly after that it was discovered or alleged that there was some mysterious secret circular somewhere from the State Department which had spread distrust in certain foreign countries, and that they had delayed accepting the invitation to take part. And then the debate in Congress arose indicating doubts as to what might be done, and in view of all these circumstances subscriptions inevitably stopped. But for these checks we believe that we should have raised a million or two or three more than we have secured. We believed for a time, and we always hoped, that we should be able to avoid the necessity of an appeal to Congress, and that the enterprise would have been carried out by the generous subscriptions of the people; and if you will now give us God-speed and grant us what is a small amount in comparison with the great benefits that must result to the country, the people of the nation will again accept this enterprise, as they did a year ago, with all their hearts and souls, and will make generous contributions to carry it out. It never met with an objection worth speaking of until the debate began here in Congress.

ABILITY TO MANAGE AN EXHIBITION.

We are told by some gentlemen that we have no ability in this country to manage such an enterprise; that we cannot do it. I say that no nation in the world is so capable of conducting a great exhi-

bition as this is. It is my doctrine that whatever is to be done by a whole people can better be done by a free people than by any other. I said *my* doctrine. Sir, it is the doctrine of the nation, it is the doctrine of our form of government, that whatever is to be done by the whole nation can better be done by a free people than by any other. Now, I want to see us display our ability to conduct an exhibition. You say we cannot do it. Look at our seventy thousand miles of railways. We have forty railroad companies in this country that have within their own organizations the men and the discipline that could carry out a great exhibition as easily as they can run an extra machine-shop. Look at Governor Straw, of New Hampshire, with forty acres of flooring in the Amoskeag Mills, more than perhaps we will need in this exhibition, and with four thousand operatives. Governor Straw, one of our commissioners, a civil engineer by profession, sits there and drives that great establishment with its four thousand operatives, working up twenty-five thousand bales of cotton a year as easily as the Speaker presides over this House. We have not the capacity, eh? Look at the Sprague establishment, now under temporary clouds to be sure, with their six great cotton mills, (at one of them a room one thousand feet long,) working six thousand operatives, using forty thousand bales of cotton a year, and whirling out cotton that would run from the mill, if the sheets were in one, with the speed of a railroad train.

We cannot manage this exhibition! Look at the Pacific Railroad, where from either ocean the track was run as the unrolling a ribbon, the two companies competing to see which would go farthest before they united. Look at the operations of our late gigantic war; two and a quarter millions of men on one side and a million and more on the other side. Consider that twenty thousand, thirty thousand, fifty thousand men were taken up as it were in the arms of the quartermaster and whirled a thousand miles in ten days and dashed against the enemy's flanks. Look at General Meigs himself, sitting here at the head of the Quartermaster's establishment and sending arms, clothes, food, ordnance stores, horses, cannon, tents, and all ponderous equipage for armies that sometimes numbered more than a million. We felt strong enough to have carried half a dozen of some little nations of Europe in our coat-tail pockets, not remembering their presence. And yet you tell us we do not know how to conduct a big business operation like this!

We have a thousand factories, a hundred railroad schemes, magnificent operations and achievements, showing that genius never was developed in any nation for conducting great enterprises as it has been in this. Foreign people tell us—they told us at Vienna, where we had our commissioners—that we Americans seemed to have a way of conducting great enterprises that other people had not; that we always got out of a scrape better than anybody else; that they had abundant faith in our ability for conducting a "show," as these gentlemen called it. I challenge the engineers and architects of the world to say whether our plan for the exhibition at Philadelphia is not superior to the one held at London or the one at Paris or the one at Vienna, in convenience of location and arrangement, though not in mere splendor of architecture.

EXCELLENCE OF OUR PLANS.

We have a better arranged building, preserving the dual system of arrangement, geographical and scientific, a better system of railroad tracks. At Vienna they dumped out their piles of merchandise sometimes far from the building, and the piles so augmented that

a thousand carts could not move them in time. What have we planned? In that lordly Fairmount Park, right on the verge of the Pennsylvania Central Railroad, in connection with every foot of railroad in the country, we run a side track across our grounds, with parallel tracks, down through each of our long naves. We trundle our goods into the building, tumble them out on each side of the track, the cars are drawn out, and you can lay a plank six inches wide over the rails and nobody would know there was a railroad track in the building. You could load and unload the entire contents of the exhibition in three days.

And will you tell me that a Yankee—and when I say a Yankee I mean an American—could not manage an enterprise of this kind? Why, sir, we will take a contract to pick up one of those little European nations, and pack it in plant-pots, and bring it here and set it up for a show if you want it.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION.

You tell me you have no constitutional power to grant this money; and the small constitutional lawyers run riot when they get hold of anything of this sort. They say you have no constitutional power to make this appropriation. Sir, where is your power to spend \$10,000,000 on public buildings? Tell me where you have the power to build one single post-office or one court-house. Point to the clause. I am not going to help you do it, but I know that you wheedle it out of the Constitution. You say in one case that you find power to build court-houses under the power to provide inferior courts; and if you have power to create a court you have power to build a shed to put it in. That is where your constitutional lawyers find it.

Jefferson, a strict constructionist, could find no power in the Constitution for the purchase of Louisiana. But he took it, and let others hunt for the "power." They have not found it yet. Where was your power to pay the expedition to the South Sea Islands in 1836, a costly affair for those days? Where was your power to appropriate money for the sufferers by the earthquake in Venezuela? Where was your power to appropriate money for the north pole expeditions? Where was your power to appropriate a half million dollars and more for the several expositions that have been held in Europe? Where was your power to send a vessel to Ireland with food for her starving people? Where was your power to refit the bark *Resolute* which Sir John Franklin lost in the Arctic Seas, and which a Yankee from Connecticut found and brought home? Where was your power to refit it and send it over to England as a present—a generous act of international courtesy, for which a Virginia strict constructionist offered a resolution to give \$40,000? Where is your power to spend tens of thousands of dollars on costly gold and silver medals commemorative of various enterprises and complimentary to various individuals? Where is your power to provide the statues that are scattered through your public grounds and of which you will have more as you grow to a nobler culture? Where is your constitutional power to order your military authorities to issue rations to the suffering people of the overflowed Mississippi Valley? Go to the Constitution, and tell me if you can where you found your power to give three weeks ago ten cannon (worth \$3,300 to-day at the arsenal) to the town of Concord for the centennial there next year—the centennial celebration of the first firing upon a British soldier! You have within the last three weeks settled this whole question. You have voted to give bronze cannon sufficient to build a statue right where the first blood of the revolu-

tionary conflict was shed. You have provided for giving \$3,300—\$1.30 a piece for every inhabitant of Concord—to celebrate their centennial. And yet the constitutional power over this exhibition is doubted, and the gentleman representing Concord itself cries out, "Where is the money to come from?"

Where is your power to build the monument you voted the other day to Admiral De Ternay, the gallant Frenchman who came to fight for us and died with us in the Revolution?

Where is your power to pay for observing the eclipse of the sun in 1869, or the coming transit of Venns?

But I have not had time to search the whole statute-book. You will find that there is some elasticity and liberality in your Constitution, by construction and practice at least, though some men may have tried to find in it an iron frame. And these things have been done not in the green tree, but in the dry; not by republicans or whigs alone, but by Calhoun strict constructionists, men of the North and the South, the East and the West, who said that we had a nation, and that Uncle Sam must be a man and a gentleman among the nations.

THE FLAG AND THE EAGLE.

Some gentlemen tell us that we may have a national celebration but not in connection with an international exhibition; that there is some incongruity between the two; and as the *celebration* is national, the exhibition must be only and strictly national. I would like to be heard a few moments on that point. I believe in the Fourth of July in the popular acceptation of that term. I believe in the Fourth of July all over, from the crown of my head to the sole of my feet. As a boy and young man I fired my guns and had my good time. I like to see the boys do the same now. You may belong to a city council, and may pass volumes of ordinances against guns and fire-crackers; you may send platoons of policemen to arrest the boys who violate your ordinances, but you still have within you a secret sympathy with the young rascals, and you like to be awakened on the morning of the Fourth by great bells and guns, even if you do swear a little about it. I believe in the Fourth of July; I believe in "sentiment;" I believe in the Flag; and I honor the memory of Daniel Webster when I remember how he pointed up through yonder rotunda at the "gorgeous ensign of the Republic," and trampled with magnificent scorn upon the poor, puny, contemptible spirit that dared to ask "How much is all this worth?" God bless Daniel Webster for that one paragraph.

I was grieved, not angry—grieved in my very soul—when I heard men on this floor, of wealth and culture and honor and ability, sneering at what they called "sentiment," and laughing at "tears," and when I heard a Massachusetts man from the very hills of Berkshire ridiculing the "eagle" and all that "cheap clap-trap." God grant that the day may be far distant when what you call "Fourth of July talk" shall be out of fashion. Let it always be in fashion. Our millions of "Boys in Blue" talked it from the cradle; and while perhaps infidels to free government sneered at them, and ridiculed the "cross-roads talk about the Fourth of July" and "the eagle," those boys believed in it; five hundred thousand graves bear witness to their belief. God help the poor, narrow soul whose eyes never moisten at the sight of the Flag.

THE EXHIBITION MUST BE INTERNATIONAL.

Shall this exhibition be national alone, and not international also? First, we are thoroughly committed to the international idea by the

act itself, by the proclamation of the President, by the circular of the Secretary of State communicating it to the diplomatic representatives, by his circular to our ministers abroad, and by the acceptances of many nations. Secondly, it is interwoven with the whole scheme—the classification, the policy, and the pledges. We are committed to it by personal presentation to foreign exhibitors, commissioners, jurors on the international jury, and others at the Vienna exposition; by the publication of this proclamation and of this scheme in three foreign languages in the pages of the Vienna catalogue. The Vienna people asked us to do it. They offered us pages for advertising our international exhibition. We observed the words of your act, and thus advertised all over Europe. We are committed to the international idea by the acceptance of donations from foreign commissions. Goods that were offered to us at Vienna by commissioners from foreign states are already on the way or in store. We told them we would take the articles gladly. From various foreign citizens we have accepted such contributions. Why, sir, the Marquis of Bute, the descendant of the Bute who was in the famous Lord North ministry that urged on George III to the long seven years' war, proposes to furnish largely a room in that exhibition displaying the wonderful resources of his estate in Wales. Being instructed to conduct an international exhibition, we have felt at liberty to accept these offers.

International comity requires that our exhibition should have this character. We have as a nation taken part in three great exhibitions, while our citizens have participated in others. We had seven hundred exhibitors at London, and nine hundred at Paris. We spent at least \$240,000 on the Paris exposition, and full \$200,000 at Vienna. We accepted these invitations, which were just like the invitations we want to extend. It is not the purpose of international exhibitions to invite foreign princes to come and junket at public expense. The invitation to each government is to appoint a commission. The people of a country will not come here without a commission appointed by their government. Note this point. This is the essence of the international feature. The people from another country will not come without a commission appointed by their government. That government will not appoint a commission unless it receives a courteous invitation to do so, and that commission will take care of the exhibitors here, and will put us to no expense on their account beyond providing room and protection for them. Whatever they choose to expend here we will be glad to see them spend. They will do it largely. For the exposition at Vienna the German Empire spent \$750,000; France, \$300,000; England, \$100,000; Italy, \$200,000; Turkey, \$500,000; Egypt, \$500,000; the United States, \$200,000, (something was saved of that;) Belgium, \$100,000, &c. About \$3,000,000 were spent at Vienna by other governments. If they send commissioners here they will spend two, three, or four million dollars in taking care of their exhibitors and their people, as their commissioners are bound to do, and just as we did at Paris and Vienna.

But there is another table here, which I do not turn to at this moment, showing a larger expenditure at the Paris exposition. I know that England spent £120,000—\$600,000, at that foreign exposition. We do not invite them here at our expense except as we provide room in which to keep their goods secure from the rain. They will do the rest and take care of themselves. They will spend more money three times over, these foreign governments and commissioners and exhibitors and travelers and purchasers, than you are asked appropriate here; and yet we are told you cannot afford this!

It will help immigration. Three thousand immigrants, worth \$1,000 apiece as all statisticians and economists say, and they would make \$3,000,000 alone. Do you not believe it will add three thousand to your immigration?

International exhibitions advance the common sciences, the common arts, the common progress of modern civilization. Common courtesy and good feeling require reciprocation. Reciprocation of effort for the advancement of civilization and human welfare is the graceful adjunct of the national festival, especially as we have drawn benefit from other exhibitions and are, as a people, made up of all peoples. Their usefulness is in geometrical proportion to their universality. A well-balanced exhibition of the industries of the world commands the attention of the world. It makes exhibitors willing to come and spend money to extend the field of their enterprises. It draws more exhibitors and more visitors. Many important industries—mark this, if you please—many important industries cannot be shown independently of foreign products, the basis of their manufacture. You cannot have a *purely national* exhibition of really great value. The men who have studied this subject of exhibitions will tell you so. To exhibit industries without bringing in materials produced abroad is impossible. For example, tin-ware, dye-woods, precious stones, coffee, tea, foreign woods, foreign hides, furs, irons, steels, and partly manufactured articles of many kinds.

Are you going to make a "know-nothing" exhibition of it, that you refuse to extend invitations to other peoples—we all the time professing above all other peoples to a generous and cosmopolitan spirit, willing to accept and embrace all peoples? Do you wish to make a little "know-nothing" exhibition of the affair?

An abandonment of the international feature would operate to exclude very large classes of our own people—all who import and deal in articles of foreign production; would exclude all pictures, statues, and works of art, whenever or however they may have come into possession of Americans—all beautiful and useful machinery, furniture, woven goods, &c.; a multitude of articles just such as we wish to learn to produce.

You say that it is a Fourth of July celebration. While I tell you I believe in cannon and trumpets, thunder and glory, orations, bonfires, and bell-ringing, still I wish something more, further and higher—an exhibition which will mark our progress for one hundred years and exhibit the modern spirit of advancement and civilization characterizing the nineteenth century. Are not gentlemen aware that this exhibition is a bazaar at which for six months all the nations will assemble to shake hands as brethren and as friends? You say they will not feel at home here. I tell you, men of Massachusetts, and Ohio, and Maine, who tell us to-day the people of other nations would not be welcomed here, that strangers would not feel at home here during this exhibition, you may learn a lesson from that "old tyrant," as boys were taught to style him, George III. He had the manhood and the kingly courtesy, despot as he was, to rise before his Parliament and acknowledge our independence and say what I will read:

"I lost no time in giving the necessary orders to prohibit the further prosecution of offensive war upon the continent of North America. Adopting, as my inclination will always lead me to do, with decision and effect whatever I collect to be the sense of my Parliament and my people, I have pointed all my views and measures in Europe, as in North America, to an entire and cordial reconciliation with the Colonies. Finding it indispensable to the attainment of the object, I did not hesitate to go to the full length of the powers vested in me, and offer to declare them"—here he paused, and was in evident agitation; either embarrassed in reading his speech by the darkness of the room or affected by a very *natural emotion*. In a

moment he resumed—"and offer to declare them *free and independent States*. In thus admitting their separation from the crown of these kingdoms, I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinions of my people. I make it my humble and ardent prayer to Almighty God that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire, and that America may be free from the calamities which have formerly proved in the mother country how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interests, and affections may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries."

And wherever the English flag and American flag meet in foreign waters, there the Englishman salutes the Stars and Stripes on the Fourth of July. And when the Queen's birthday comes around, the American salutes the Cross of Saint George. They exchange the salutes of guns and dipping of colors, as becomes gentlemen among the nations of the earth. And while I would fight John Bull to-morrow, and so would you, John Bull and we are friends to-day; we are blood relations, welcome here and welcome there. And in the great struggle which makes the glory of the nineteenth century, for pre-eminence in the application of science, to lift up the weak and lowly and lighten the sorrows of labor, we are generous rivals, standing on a common platform. We welcome here the Englishman, the German, the Frenchman—all of them! While the kings of those European monarchies may not love the Declaration of Independence their people love it, and we want to invite their people here. We want their people to know the character and boundless magnitude of our resources, that they may come here in still greater numbers. Human ingenuity cannot devise a fairer way—to use the commercial expression—to advertise the American continent than by this exhibition.

Comparison is vital to the success of any exposition. "Comparison" is expressly referred to in the act—an exhibition of our resources, development, and "progress in the arts which benefit mankind in comparison with those of older nations." You can never discover your success or your failure without comparison. You cannot gauge your status without comparison with other nations. Comparison is essential to show the effects on the industries and the arts of climate, of race, of geographical position, of raw materials, of social and political institutions. By having an international exhibition, the people of other countries bring us over what they produce, and show us how they produce it. In this way they will stimulate the establishment of many manufactures which we wish to see growing up here. They will bring over what we do not make; and we can see what it is, how it is made, and how we could make it. We will thus make advances where we are most deficient and have most need to learn. Such an opportunity we could not have in a purely national exhibition.

I wish I had time to read passages to show what Englishmen learned through their exhibition of 1851. They learned some sore lessons there, and they acknowledged it like men. They say it is a part of the British character to manfully confess defeat. They saw that in some respects they were beaten, and the result was that they were stirred up to greater efforts, so that they should not be left behind in the race by some of the continental nations. The exhibition of 1851 changed the face of industry in Great Britain. The exposition of Paris changed the industry of the French nation. Not one of those exhibitions worth mentioning has been held that has not been productive of important effects on everything relating to the economic and social condition and progress, the foreign and domestic trade, of the people among whom it was held.

No country is so well situated for an international exhibition as

ours is. We afford the best market for many countries, and are their best customers. Many nations sell more to us than to any other people. With importations of over \$600,000,000 to our shores, every nation in Christendom is under the bonds, each of its own peculiar interest, to be here. And as there is no necessary land transportation in the way of reaching Philadelphia, it will cost less to send thither than to send to Vienna. The people of Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, the West Indies, South America, Asia, and the larger part of Africa can more easily send to Philadelphia than to Vienna. Unless you have a know-nothing exhibition it must be a success.

As I have explained, the expense and the responsibility of foreign departments rest on the foreign governments themselves. We furnish the space and the protection, and the foreign governments will spend largely to take care of and exhibit what they send. And I may state here that a very friendly feeling in reference to our proposed international exhibition exists abroad. At the meeting of the jurors at the close of the Vienna exposition enthusiastic pledges were given to meet next at Philadelphia. We had experienced men, skilled engineers, and others, all saying to us, "You ought to have a grand exhibition; you have a noble opportunity, which you ought to seize for the credit and glory of your nation." The impression prevailed there that we could better manage an exhibition than any other people.

One great point is that we shall make a fair representation of the progress we have made during one hundred years of existence, and that we shall show especially the comparative progress we have made.

OUR SUCCESS ABROAD.

How did we succeed at London in 1851? Why, sir, we had only six or seven hundred exhibitors there, and yet the London Times said that the American department was second in interest in the Crystal Palace. Where did we triumph? You may not think Colt's revolver much of an affair; Europeans did. Some might say that McCormick's reaper was not of very great importance, but it is one of the types of a large class of inventions which are blessing mankind and revolutionizing the labor of production. Inventive ingenuity applied to labor saving is a peculiar boast of the American.

For twenty years there was an offer in the streets of London of two hundred guineas to any mechanic who would open one of Braham's locks. Hobbs, an American, opened it in two days and then opened and shut it at pleasure. There was a similar challenge in the streets of London to any mechanic to open Chubb's lock; Hobbs opened it in twenty-five minutes.

Then, sir, Steers's little schooner went over from this country. John Bull thought that if Britannia was queen anywhere it was upon the sea. But when the yachts came home in the race John Bull telegraphed to London that the yacht America was ahead and the rest nowhere. Again, too, at the London exposition the English artists and critics dwelt with rapture on the work of an Ohio man, the beautiful statue of the Greek slave, the most notable and best-remembered sculpture in that exhibition. Sir, we gained ten times our meed of honor in proportion to the number of exhibitors we had there.

WHAT WE CAN SHOW.

We can show something of sculpture, and we are not behind in the arts. As sculptors we have Powers, and Brown, and Ward, and Hosmer, and Crawford; and in painting, we have Allston and Trumbull,

Church and Kensett, and Bierstadt and Huntington—scores whom I cannot wait to name. We have in the field of mechanics produced the cotton-gin which revolutionized continents, for cotton employs forty million people in Europe, and it would not have employed two millions but for this cotton-gin. In mechanics we have the reaper, to which I have referred, and Blanchard's turner of irregular surfaces, the interchangeability of parts, the electric telegraph, the steamboat, the sewing-machine—a catalogue honorable and innumerable. These things are America's glory, and the workers of no other nation have done more to uplift labor and glorify this century than our mechanics and inventors. And yet gentlemen put down "sentiment" with a laugh, and our claims to eminence in material development with a sneer, and say we have nothing to exhibit.

Sir, I never go into a great machine-shop without an impulse to take off my hat to my master. These exhibitions are democratic. Monarchs may march triumphantly to their doors, but within, the artists, mechanics, and manufacturers are kings. No nimble-tongued orator has a right to assume airs of superiority when he walks into a shop a thousand feet long, with a thousand operatives working machinery of infinite accuracy, throwing out products of beauty for the farthest corners of the earth. My own door is within the hearing of mechanics, my neighbors, making for the Prussian government \$1,100,000 worth of arms machinery, because it can be better done there than even in German arsenals.

I have a right to be proud of American industry, of American art and science. In nine-tenths of the fields embraced in these exhibitions we may boldly challenge the competition of the world. I say that deliberately, and thereon put my all at stake. You will have no reason to be ashamed of this exhibition. True, we cannot produce a Titian, or a Raphael, or a Rubens, or a Praxiteles; but it took thousands of years to produce them, and we have done very well in one hundred.

But that is not all. We have had a people to make in a hundred years; and, the Lord be praised, we have made a people. Bitterly as we fought among ourselves, I think we have got to be one nation now and shall remain so. We have done a great work in one hundred years. Why should we not let the world see what it is? Why should not we stop to examine it ourselves? You do not know your country. You do not know what an exhibition we can make. Let us put in one hall the progress of education and its present condition; in another the progress of religious denominations—and several of them are already making their arrangements. In another, the varied and innumerable soils and their capacity; elsewhere the treasures of the mine. Why, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. WHITE] told you last night that you could ride in his State, which we think of as a "cotton State," one hundred miles over the very best iron ore, the bed fifteen feet deep and forty feet wide, and with the mountains full of it besides; and engineers say that there is coal enough in that State to supply the world for two thousand years. How many of you knew the resources of Alabama? We can beat Great Britain in coal and iron in that one State. We can produce iron there at fourteen dollars per ton, the gentleman says; and others have told me the same. And my friend before me from Chattanooga [Mr. CRUTCHFIELD] can give a similar account of the region around him.

Look at your wheat-fields. We can furnish bread to the whole world and not miss it. Look at the wheat-growth on the Pacific coast. Ten years ago we did not know that wheat could be pro-

duced there, and now California is feeding nations. There are fields ready for wheat over which you cannot ride in a week; where not only no plow has ever passed, but where the white man's foot has hardly yet trod, in the boundless Saskatchewan Valley, yet to be brought under cultivation.

You have not tickled the surface of the great Mississippi Valley. You have gold and silver enough to keep your miners at work for centuries; your coal, your iron; your soil, black and rich, fifteen feet deep, the deposit of centuries. Spread this information on maps, charts, and tabulated statements, on the walls of your exposition building. You wish the world to know it.

There are men now making ready specimens of the the root, the bark, the wood, the leaf, flower, and fruit of every tree from Maine to California—a collection such as no other country in the world can make. There will be an exhibition of the fishes to be gathered from Maine to Galveston, on the Pacific coast, and in our inland seas, such as will be of interest to all the naturalists of the world. Then there are our fire-arms, in which we beat the world; our clocks which we export everywhere; our edge-tools, in which we now beat Sheffield in her own markets, because the Yankee brain works through the machine that makes the tool, and we are quicker in that than John Bull. We have been building locomotives and passenger-cars for Europe. John Bull did not know how to go comfortably from London to Edinburgh till we sent him the other day some trains of Pullman cars. Then there are the cold fields of Maine, where they raise two hundred bushels of potatoes to the acre; and all the various soils and climates between that State and the sunny fields of San Diego, in California, rich in oranges, limes, lemons, almonds, all fruits of all climates, the sugar-cane of Louisiana, the matchless cotton of the sea islands, the grape culture, destined to an infinite development—everywhere productive capability immeasurable.

Let us devote a few weeks to arranging all these things in rooms and cases, and then ask the world to come and see them. In both aspects, that of fraternity and that of profit also, I believe this enterprise is legitimate and lawful. We will have scientific men and commissioners, who will come here and make their reports, published at home, and read and talked over by their people. The press of the world will sketch in words and pictures the wonders and uses we shall have, and the year after your immigration will be increased by thousands upon thousands. Your trade will be increased. New ships and flags will come to sell and buy.

THE MORAL USES.

How grand the opportunity to promote fraternity among the nations, whose representatives will there meet in the friendly competitions of a Christian civilization!

One consideration more that lies near my heart. In that summer of 1876 we of these States will meet under one flag and one name, avowing one purpose and one destiny, looking back far beyond the fierce and bloody quarrels that have tortured our hearts and reddened our fields. Pass our amnesty bills, secure the civil rights of all, clear the ground, and shake hands. I look around and see men who would have shot each other at sight a few years ago. I have learned something in this Hall, gained somewhat, I hope, of a kindlier feeling, just through these daily friendly greetings. We need such opportunity for all, as you, Mississippi, [looking at Mr. LAMAR,] have said, that we may "know one another better, and love one another better." We want the people called together in what I might call a good old-

fashioned Methodist camp-meeting for six months. We cannot afford to throw away the opportunity. None such will come again in a hundred years. The moments hasten by; local jealousies, personal rivalries, false economy, no matter what folly, may let the time pass, and then historians for a hundred years will make your neglect the text for a shameful chapter. I pray for once clear away this smothering atmosphere. Let us not place self-interest above all things else. Indeed self-interest and honor move together, as in the true sense they always do. Let the American people pay a tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent., half a million out of each one hundred millions of revenue, for two years. I am not afraid of them on that point; but I am afraid of undertaking the rôle of pettifogger in answer to the foreign governments that have accepted our invitations.

CONCLUSION.

As one of the commissioners, and just now their president, I cannot do this. You must relieve us from all that. You ordered the invitation. In obedience to your laws the President and Secretary have notified the world. Get the gentleman from Maine, [Mr. HALE,] the chairman of Appropriations, [Mr. GARFIELD,] and the gentleman from New Jersey, [Mr. PHELPS,] to prepare your statement thus, perhaps: "Whereas we sanctioned and ordered a celebration and an international exhibition for the honor and profit of the whole nation and to the glory of republican institutions only on condition that Pennsylvania would see the money raised; and whereas though Pennsylvania has secured half what was needed, the financial crisis checked the work of the commission; and whereas we somewhat doubt our having anything worth looking at or anybody capable of arranging it; therefore resolved that we back out and tell all our friends among the nations that they need not come."

No; you will not let them write or offer that. You will provide for a festival of patriotism and an exhibition of resources and developments worthy of a nation that claims a leadership in civilization and asserts the supreme beneficence of free institutions.

[Here the hammer fell.]

APPENDIX: CONTAINING VARIOUS OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS REFERRED TO IN SAID SPEECH.

ACTS OF CONGRESS RELATING TO CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

Copy of act of Congress creating the commission, approved March 3, 1871.

An act to provide for celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of American independence, by holding an international exhibition or arts, manufactures, and products of the soil and mine, in the city of Philadelphia, and State of Pennsylvania, in the year 1876.

Whereas the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America was prepared, signed, and promulgated in the year 1776, in the city of Philadelphia; and whereas it behooves the people of the United States to celebrate, by appropriate ceremonies, the centennial anniversary of this memorable and decisive event, which constituted the 4th day of July, A. D. 1776, the birthday of the nation; and whereas it is deemed fitting that the completion of the first century of our national existence shall be commemorated by an exhibition of the natural resources of the country and their development

and of its progress in those arts which benefit mankind, in comparison with those of older nations; and whereas no place is so appropriate for such an exhibition as the city in which occurred the event it is designed to commemorate; and whereas, as the exhibition should be a national celebration, in which the people of the whole country should participate, it should have the sanction of the Congress of the United States: Therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That an exhibition of American and foreign arts, products, and manufactures shall be held under the auspices of the Government of the United States, in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1876.

SEC. 2. That a commission, to consist of not more than one delegate from each State and from each Territory of the United States, whose functions shall continue until the close of the exhibition, shall be constituted, whose duty it shall be to prepare and superintend the execution of a plan for holding the exhibition; and, after the conference with the authorities of the city of Philadelphia, to fix upon a suitable site within the corporate limits of the said city, where the exhibition shall be held.

SEC. 3. The said commissioners shall be appointed within one year from the passage of this act, by the President of the United States, on the nomination of the governors of the States and Territories, respectively.

SEC. 4. That in the same manner there shall be appointed one commissioner from each State and Territory of the United States, who shall assume the place and perform the duties of such commissioner and commissioners as may be unable to attend the meetings of the commission.

SEC. 5. That the commission shall hold its meetings in the city of Philadelphia, and that a majority of its members shall have full power to make all needful rules for its government.

SEC. 6. That the commission shall report to Congress, at the first session after its appointment, a suitable date for opening and for closing the exhibition; a schedule of appropriate ceremonies for opening or dedicating the same; a plan or plans of the building; a complete plan for the reception and classification of articles intended for exhibition; the requisite custom-house regulations for the introduction into this country of the articles from foreign countries intended for exhibition; and such other matters as in their judgment may be important.

SEC. 7. That no compensation for services shall be paid to the commissioners or other officers provided by this act from the Treasury of the United States; and the United States shall not be liable for any expenses attending such exhibition, or by reason of the same.

SEC. 8. That whenever the President shall be informed by the governor of the State of Pennsylvania that provision has been made for the erection of suitable buildings for the purpose, and for the exclusive control by the commission herein provided for of the proposed exhibition, the President shall, through the Department of State, make proclamation of the same, setting forth the time at which the exhibition will open, and the place at which it will be held; and he shall communicate to the diplomatic representatives of all nations copies of the same, together with such regulations as may be adopted by the commissioners, for publication in their respective countries.

OFFICERS OF THE UNITED STATES CENTENNIAL COMMISSION.

President.—Hon. Joseph R. Hawley.

Vice-presidents.—Hons. Alfred T. Goshorn, Orestes Cleveland, W. M. Byrd, John D. Creigh, David Atwood, Thomas H. Coldwell.

Director-general.—Hon. Alfred T. Goshorn.

Secretary.—Hon. John L. Campbell.

Counselor and solicitor.—John L. Shoemaker, esq., 611 Vine street, Philadelphia.

The supreme control of the business of the United States centennial commission, except during its session, is vested in the executive committee composed of thirteen members, namely:

Executive committee.—Daniel J. Morrell, Pennsylvania; Alfred T. Goshorn, Ohio; Walter W. Wood, Virginia; George B. Loring, Massachusetts; Charles H. Marshall, New York; James T. Earle, Maryland; George H. Corliss, Rhode Island; John G. Stevens, New Jersey; Alexander R. Boteler, West Virginia; Richard C. McCormick, Arizona; William Henry Parsons, Texas; Lewis Waln Smith, Georgia; John Lynch, Louisiana.

MEMBERS.

Alabama.—William M. Byrd, commissioner, Selma; James L. Cooper, alternate, Huntsville.

Arizona.—Richard C. McCormick, commissioner, Washington, D. C.; John Wasson, alternate, Tucson.

Arkansas.—E. W. Gantt, commissioner, Little Rock; Alexander McDonald, alternate, Little Rock.

California.—John Dunbar Creigh, commissioner, No. 714 Shotwell street, San Francisco; ———, alternate, deceased.

Colorado.—J. Marshall Paul, commissioner, Fair Play; N. C. Meeker, alternate, Greeley.

Connecticut.—Joseph R. Hawley, commissioner, Hartford; William Phipps Blake, alternate, New Haven.

Dakota.—George A. Batchelder, commissioner, Yankton; Solomon L. Spink, alternate, Yankton.

Delaware.—Henry F. Askew, commissioner, Wilmington; John H. Rodney, alternate, New Castle.

District of Columbia.—James E. Dexter, commissioner, 322 Four-and-a-half street, northwest, Washington; Lawrence A. Gobreight, alternate, Washington.

Florida.—John S. Adams, commissioner, Jacksonville; J. T. Bernard, alternate, Tallahassee.

Georgia.————, commissioner; Lewis Waln Smith, alternate, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Idaho.—Thomas Donaldson, commissioner, Boise City; James S. Reynolds, alternate, Boise City.

Illinois.—Frederick L. Mathews, commissioner, Carlinville; Lawrence Weldon, alternate, Bloomington.

Indiana.—John L. Campbell, commissioner, Crawfordsville; F. C. Johnson, alternate, New Albany.

Iowa.—Robert Lowry, commissioner, Davenport; Coker F. Clarkson, alternate, Eldora, Hardin County.

Kansas.—John A. Martin, commissioner, Atchison; George A. Crawford, alternate, Fort Scott.

Kentucky.—Robert Mallory, commissioner, La Grange; Smith M. Hobbs, alternate, Mount Washington.

Louisiana.—John Lynch, commissioner, lock box 930 New Orleans; Edward Penington, alternate, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Maine.—Joshua Nye, commissioner, Augusta; Charles P. Kimball, alternate, Portland.

Maryland.—James T. Earle, commissioner, Centreville, Queen Anne County; John W. Davis, alternate, 25 North Calvert street, Baltimore.

Massachusetts.—George B. Loring, commissioner, Salem; William B. Spooner, alternate, Boston.

Michigan.—James Birney, commissioner, Bay City; Claudius B. Grant, alternate, Ann Arbor.

Minnesota.—J. Fletcher Williams, commissioner, Saint Paul; W. W. Folwell, alternate, Saint Anthony.

Mississippi.—O. C. French, commissioner, Jackson; ———, alternate, ———.

Missouri.—John McNeil, commissioner, Compton Hill, Saint Louis; Samuel Hays, alternate, Saint Joseph.

Montana.—William H. Clagett, commissioner, Deer Lodge City; Patrick A. Largey, alternate, Virginia City.

Nebraska.—Henry S. Moody, commissioner, Omaha; R. W. Furnas, alternate, Brownville.

Nevada.—William Wirt McCoy, commissioner, Eureka, Lander County; James W. Haines, alternate, Genoa.

New Hampshire.—Ezekiel A. Straw, commissioner, Manchester; Asa P. Cate, alternate, Northfield.

New Jersey.—Orestes Cleveland, commissioner, Jersey City; John G. Stevens, alternate, Trenton.

New Mexico.—Eldridge W. Little, commissioner, Santa Fé.

New York.—N. M. Beckwith, commissioner, New York City; Charles H. Marshall, alternate, New York City.

North Carolina.—————, commissioner, ———; Jonathan W. Albertson, alternate, Hertford, Perquimans County.

Ohio.—Alfred T. Goshorn, commissioner, Cincinnati; Wilson W. Griffith, alternate, Toledo.

Oregon.—James W. Virtue, commissioner, Baker City; Andrew J. Dufur, alternate, Portland.

Pennsylvania.—Daniel J. Morrell, commissioner, Johnstown; Asa Packer, alternate, Mauch Chunk.

Rhode Island.—George H. Corliss, commissioner, Providence; Samuel Powel, alternate, Newport.

South Carolina.—William Gurney, commissioner, Charleston, Archibald Cameron, alternate, Charleston.

Tennessee.—Thomas H. Coldwell, commissioner, Shelbyville, Bedford County; William F. Prosser, alternate, Nashville.

Texas.—William Henry Parsons, commissioner, New York City; John C. Chew, alternate, New York City.

Utah.—John H. Wickizer, commissioner, Salt Lake City; Oscar G. Sawyer, alternate, New York City.

Vermont.—Middleton Goldsmith, commissioner, Rutland; Henry Chase, alternate, Lyndon.

Virginia.—Walter W. Wood, commissioner, Halifax Court-House; Edward R. Bagwell, alternate, Onancock, Accomack County.

Washington Territory.—Elwood Evans, commissioner, Olympia; Alexander S. Abernethy, alternate, Cowlitz County.

West Virginia.—Alexander R. Boteler, commissioner, Shepherdstown; Andrew J. Sweeney, alternate, Wheeling.

Wisconsin.—David Atwood, commissioner, Madison; Edward D. Holton, alternate, Milwaukee.

Wyoming.—Joseph M. Carey, commissioner, Cheyenne; Robert H. Lamborn, alternate, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

THE CENTENNIAL BOARD OF FINANCE.

This board was created and chartered by the act of Congress in the premises, approved June 1, 1872, as an auxiliary to the commission. The corporators named in the act represented every congressional district in the country. Provision was made for the annual election of twenty-five directors at which every stockholder is entitled to cast a vote for each share of stock owned by him. These directors are charged with the financial administration of the exhibition. The measures necessary for promoting the procurement of the capital, by subscriptions to stock to the extent of one million shares at ten dollars per share, were intrusted to those directors. Their duties include also the auditing and settlement of all accounts for the expenses attending the erection of buildings, the expenses and the organization, completion, and closing up of the exhibition. They are to have charge of moneys received from all sources of income to the exhibition, and to distribute at the close of it *pro rata* among the stockholders the surplus remaining in their hands of such amount as may have been received from admissions, rents, licences, and all other sources of income, including the proceeds of the sale of buildings and other property, after payment of all expenses properly pertaining to the exhibition.

The following is a list of the board of directors and of their officers:

OFFICERS OF THE CENTENNIAL BOARD OF FINANCE.

President.—John Welsh, Philadelphia.

Vice-presidents.—William Sellers, Philadelphia; John S. Barbour, Virginia.

Directors.—Daniel M. Fox, Philadelphia; Samuel M. Felton, Philadelphia; Thomas Cochran, Philadelphia; Clement M. Biddle, Philadelphia; N. Parker Shortridge, Philadelphia; Edward T. Steel, Philadelphia; James M. Robb, Philadelphia; John Wanamaker, Philadelphia; John Price Wetherill, Philadelphia; Henry Winsor, Philadelphia; Thomas H. Dudley, New Jersey; Abram S. Hewitt, New York; Charles W. Cooper, Pennsylvania; John Cummings, Boston, Massachusetts; William Bigler, Pennsylvania; Robert Patton, Alabama; John B. Drake, Illinois; George Bain, Missouri; Henry Lewis, Philadelphia; Amos R. Little, Philadelphia; (one vacancy.)

Secretary and treasurer.—Frederick Fraley, Philadelphia.

By the President of the United States of America :

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas by the act of Congress approved March 3, 1871, providing for a national celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the independence of the United States, by the holding of an international exhibition of arts, manufactures, and products of the soil and mine, in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1876, it is provided as follows:

That whenever the President shall be informed by the governor of the State of Pennsylvania that provision has been made for the erection of suitable buildings for the purpose, and for the exclusive control by the commission herein provided for of the proposed exhibition, the President shall, through the Department of State, make proclamation of the same, setting forth the time at which the exhibition will open and the place at which it will be held; and he shall communicate to the diplomatic representatives of all nations copies of the same, together with such regulations as may be adopted by the commissioners, for publication in their respective countries.

And whereas his excellency the governor of the State of Pennsylvania did, on the 24th day of June, 1873, inform me that provision

has been made for the erection of said buildings and for the exclusive control by the commission provided for in the said act of the proposed exhibition; and whereas the president of the United States centennial commission has officially informed me of the dates fixed for the opening and closing of the said exhibition, and the place at which it is to be held:

Now, therefore, be it known, that I, Ulysses S. Grant, President of the United States, in conformity with the provisions of the act of Congress aforesaid, do hereby declare and proclaim that there will be held, at the city of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, an international exhibition of arts, manufactures, and products of the soil and mine, to be opened on the 19th day of April, A. D. 1876, and to be closed on the 19th day of October, in the same year.

And in the interest of peace, civilization, and domestic and international friendship and intercourse, I commend the celebration and exhibition to the people of the United States; and, in behalf of this Government and people, I cordially commend them to all nations who may be pleased to take part therein.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 3d day of July, 1873, and of the Independence of the United States the ninety-seventh.

[L. S.]

U. S. GRANT.

By the President:

HAMILTON FISH,
Secretary of State.

The foregoing proclamation was sent to foreign governments with the following form of note:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 5, 1873.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose, for the information of the government of ———, a copy of the President's proclamation announcing the time and place of holding an international exhibition of arts, manufactures, and products of the soil and mine, proposed to be held in the year 1876.

The exhibition is designed to commemorate the Declaration of the Independence of the United States, on the one hundredth anniversary of that interesting and historic national event, and at the same time to present a fitting opportunity for such display of the results of art and industry of all nations as will serve to illustrate the great advances attained and the successes achieved in the interest of progress and civilization during the century which will have then closed.

In the law providing for the holding of the exhibition, Congress directed that copies of the proclamation of the President, setting forth the time of its opening and the place at which it was to be held, together with such regulations as might be adopted by the commissioners of the exhibition, should be communicated to the diplomatic representatives of all nations. Copies of those regulations are herewith transmitted.

The President indulges the hope that the government of ——— will be pleased to notice the subject, and may deem it proper to bring the exhibition and its objects to the attention of the people of that country, and thus encourage their co-operation in the proposed celebration. And he further hopes that the opportunity afforded by the exhibition for the interchange of national sentiment and friendly intercourse between the people of both nations may result in new and

still greater advantages to science and industry, and at the same time serve to strengthen the bonds of peace and friendship which already happily subsist between the government and people of ——— and those of the United States.

I have the honor to be, sir, with the highest consideration, your obedient servant,

GENERAL REGULATIONS.

First. The international exhibition of 1876 will be held in Fairmount Park, in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1876.

Second. The date of opening of the exhibition will be April 19, 1876, and of closing will be October 19, 1876.

Third. A cordial invitation is hereby extended to every nation of the earth to be represented by its arts, industries, progress, and development.

Fourth. A formal acceptance of this invitation is requested previous to March 4, 1874.

Fifth. Each nation accepting this invitation is requested to appoint a commission, through which all matters pertaining to its own interests shall be conducted. For the purpose of convenient intercourse and satisfactory supervision, it is especially desired that one member of each such commission be designated to reside at Philadelphia until the close of the exposition.

Sixth. The privileges of exhibitors can be granted only to citizens of countries whose governments have formally accepted the invitation to be represented, and have appointed the aforementioned commission, and all communications must be made through the governmental commissions.

Seventh. Applications for space within the exposition buildings, or in the adjacent buildings and grounds under the control of the centennial commission, must be made previous to March 4, 1875.

Eighth. Full diagrams of the buildings and grounds will be furnished to the commissioners of the different nations which shall accept the invitation to participate.

Ninth. All articles intended for exhibition, in order to secure proper position and classification, must be in Philadelphia on or before January 1, 1876.

Tenth. Acts of Congress pertaining to custom-house regulations, duties, &c., together with all special regulations adopted by the centennial commission in reference to transportation, allotment of space, classification, motive-power, insurance, police rules, and other matters necessary to the proper display and preservation of materials, will be promptly communicated to the accredited representatives of the several governments co-operating in the exposition.

PHILADELPHIA, November, 1873.

The above regulations were adopted by the United States centennial commission by virtue of authority conferred by the acts of Congress approved March 3, 1871, and June 1, 1872, and were sent officially to foreign governments with the same note which communicated the President's proclamation.

INSTRUCTIONS TO AMERICAN MINISTERS.

In a circular note dated July 7, 1873, addressed to all American ministers abroad by the State Department, Secretary Fish said:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 7, 1873.

SIR: I transmit, herewith, a copy of the proclamation of the President announcing, &c. * * * * *

It is desired that you will avail yourself of such opportunities as your official relations with the government of ——— will afford, to make known to the proper authorities, and through them to the people of that country, the object and scope of the exhibition, and thereby aid in securing their interest and co-operation in it. You will also ascertain, as early as may be practicable, *whether or not it is the purpose of the ——— government to create a commission to represent ——— at the exhibition*, and have in special charge the interests of citizens of that country who may take part in the proposed celebration. It is also desired that you will keep the Department advised of such information as you may become possessed of in relation to the subject, and that you will, by imparting information to those who may inquire in relation to the objects and purposes of the exhibition, and by such other means as your judgment and experience may suggest, do all in your power to promote the interest and success of this interesting national celebration.

* * * * *

By the President of the United States.

EXECUTIVE ORDER.

Whereas it has been brought to the notice of the President of the United States that, in the international exhibition of arts, manufactures, and products of the soil and mine, to be held in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1876, for the purpose of celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the independence of the United States, it is desirable that, from the Executive Departments of the Government of the United States, in which there may be articles suitable for the purpose intended, there should appear such articles and materials as will, when presented in a collective exhibition, illustrate the functions and administrative faculties of the Government in time of peace, and its resources as a war power, and thereby serve to demonstrate the nature of our institutions and their adaptations to the wants of the people:

Now, for the purpose of securing a complete and harmonious arrangement of the articles and materials designed to be exhibited from the Executive Departments of the Government, it is ordered that a board, to be composed of one person, to be named by the head of each of the Executive Departments which may have articles and materials to be exhibited, and also of one person to be named in behalf of the Smithsonian Institution, and one to be named in behalf of the Department of Agriculture, be charged with the preparation, arrangement, and safe-keeping of such articles and materials as the heads of the several Departments and the Commissioner of Agriculture and the Director of the Smithsonian Institution may respectively decide shall be embraced in the collection; that one of the persons thus named, to be designated by the President, shall be chairman of such board; and that the board appoint from their own number such other officers as they may think necessary; and that the said board, when organized, be authorized, under the direction of the President, to confer with the executive officers of the centennial exhibition in relation to such matters connected with the subject as may pertain to the respective Departments having articles and materials on exhibition; and that the names of the persons thus selected by the heads of the several Departments, the Commissioner of Agriculture, and the

Director of the Smithsonian Institution, shall be submitted to the President for designation.

By order of the President :

HAMILTON FISH,
Secretary of State.

WASHINGTON, *January 23, 1874.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 25, 1874.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that, in accordance with the order of the President of the 23d of January last, the following persons have been named by the heads of the several Departments, &c., mentioned in the order, having articles or materials to be exhibited at the centennial exhibition to be held in 1876, to compose the board directed to be created by the said order, namely:

By the Secretary of the Treasury—Hon. F. A. Sawyer.

By the Secretary of War—Colonel S. C. Lyford, United States Army.

By the Secretary of the Navy—Admiral T. A. Jenkins, United States Navy.

By the Secretary of the Interior—John Eaton, esq.

By the Postmaster-General—Dr. Charles F. McDonald.

By the Department of Agriculture—William Saunders, esq.

By the Smithsonian Institution—Professor S. F. Baird.

I have the honor further to inform you that the President has designated Colonel S. C. Lyford, United States Army, to be the chairman of such board.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

HAMILTON FISH.

Hon. WILLIAM W. BELKNAP,
Secretary of War.

The above and the executive order preceding it were embodied in General Orders of the War Department No. 28, published to the Army.

SOME OF THE ACCEPTANCES RECEIVED FROM FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS.

Acceptance of the German Empire.

[Extract from Prince Bismarck's instructions to the German envoy at Washington.]

BERLIN, *January 2, 1874.*

* * * * *

I request you respectfully to communicate to the Secretary of State, Mr. Fish, that the German Empire accepts with sincerest thanks the invitation of the Government of the United States of America to take part in the above-mentioned exhibition. The appointment of a special commission for the exhibition, as also a plenipotentiary residing in Philadelphia, will therefore be made in time. * * * *

The chancellor of the Empire,

BISMARCK.

Acceptance by the Netherlands.

[Mr. de Westenberg, the minister of the Netherlands, to Mr. Fish.]

I have the honor to inform your excellency that the government of the Netherlands has received this international invitation with lively satisfaction, and intends to take part in the said exposition by contributing productions of the arts and industry of the Netherlands.

To this effect a commission will be appointed in the Netherlands, and also a committee to direct and furnish information to exhibitors.

As soon as it shall be in my power, I shall hasten to communicate to your excellency the names and quality of the persons who are to constitute this committee. * * * *

WESTENBERG.

LEGATION OF THE NETHERLANDS.

Acceptance by Switzerland.

Our minister at Berne, under date of January 28, 1874, incloses to the Department of State a communication from the federal council, in which it is said:

"In thanking Mr. Rublee for these overtures, and in requesting him to be pleased to convey to his government its grateful sentiments for the courteous invitation, which it accepts, the federal council assures him that it will use its best efforts to promote the enterprise, as it has done in the case of similar expositions in Europe, provided that the necessary credits are granted by the Federal Assembly."

Acceptance by Sweden.

Our minister to Sweden in a communication to the Department of State, dated March 21, 1874, says:

"The official journal of last evening announced the appointment, by the King, of the committee with power to organize and supervise all that concerns Sweden's taking part in the Philadelphia exhibition. * * * It is announced at the same time that so much of the fifty thousand Swedish dollars voted by the Diet will be applied to enable the committee to carry on their work as is requisite, and that free transportation on all of the public railways will be granted for the committee and for the articles to be exhibited.

"It may be assumed that in the department of statistics Sweden will make a fine showing. I have reason to believe that this country is going to work to gain as much honor as possible at the exhibition.

"Undoubtedly able men from every State in Europe will visit our country during the exhibition and make searching investigation of social affairs, especially in the South, and report the results."

Acceptance by Spain.

The Spanish minister at Washington, writing to the Department of State, under date of April 24, 1874, incloses a communication from the secretary-general of the ministry of state, in which he says:

"The government of the republic has been gratified to receive the invitation which has been extended to Spain through your excellency by the Secretary of State of the North American Republic, to take part in the international exhibition. * * * The Spanish government will adopt all necessary measures to the end that Spain may be represented in the best manner possible."

Acceptance by the Argentine Republic.

The minister of foreign affairs, in a note to our minister to the Republic, dated January 22, 1874, says:

* * * "The Argentine government accepts the invitation which that of the United States has been pleased to extend to it through your excellency, to take part in the exhibition which is to be held at Philadelphia, and a commission has been appointed for this purpose. * * *

"The Argentine government returns its sincere thanks to the Republic of the North for this attention. * * *

"C. TEJEDOR."

The President of the Argentine Republic issued a decree on the

24th November, 1873, a copy of which was inclosed with the above note, in which arrangements were ordered and appropriations designated for organizing commissions and forwarding articles from every province of the republic.

TEXT OF HOUSE BILL NOW BEFORE THE SENATE.

"Whereas at various international exhibitions which have been held in foreign countries the United States have been represented, in pursuance of invitations given by the governments of those countries and accepted by our own Government: Therefore,

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President be requested to extend, in the name of the United States, a respectful and cordial invitation to the governments of other nations, to be represented and take part in the international exhibition to be held at Philadelphia, under the auspices of the Government of the United States, in the year 1876."

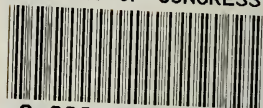
This passed the House by a vote of 206 yeas to 41 nays. In the Senate, after much debate, it was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

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